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LABIN

THE TECHNIQUE OF SOVIET
PROPAGANDA.

THE TECHNIQUE OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA

A STUDY

PRESENTED BY THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

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FOREWORD

Abraham Lincoln is credited with the observation that "you can't fool all the people all the time."

The Soviet Union is paying around \$2 billion a year to prove him wrong.

The many projects on which the Soviet lavishes this huge sum annually is discussed thoughtfully and effectively in a hitherto unpublished paper which has just come into possession of the subcommittee.

The original document, in French, was prepared for presentation to the Atlantic Treaty Association. It has been translated into English, and is printed herewith.

The author, Mme. Suzanne Labin, is a graduate of the Sorbonne, a journalist who has published four books, among them "Stalin's Russia," "The Secret of Democracy," and a volume entitled "Must We Grant Freedom to the Enemies of Freedom." The latter won the Prize of Freedom, a French literary award for "the book which best defends the principles of liberty."

Mme. Labin came to the United States last September as a member of the French delegation to the Atlantic Treaty Association meeting in Boston. She recently returned home.

In my opinion, Mme. Labin's paper is the best exposition of the subject which has yet come to my attention and I could wish it might be read and studied by all Americans, so that it might strengthen their resistance to all the forms of propaganda it discloses.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.

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THE TECHNIQUES OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA

What had to happen? The ignorance, the laziness, the pusillanimity, the perpetual fickleness and the credulousness of Western governments enabled Russia to achieve successively every one of her aims.

Karl Marx.

New York Tribune, April 19, 1853.

Politics is war without bloodshed. War is politics with bloodshed.

Mao Tse-tung.

IMPORTANCE OF THE THEME

In the West, people are often heard saying about this or that Soviet whim: "Oh, it's only propaganda." For us to try and reassure ourselves in such a way is very harmful, for, with the Soviets, it is when propaganda is involved that things become serious.

In many respects it can be said that democracy has introduced the Western World into the age of politicism, in which bosses of public opinion determine events even more than factory bosses or military forces. But by a strange and serious paradox this crucially important change has been better understood by the enemies of democracy than its makers.

Democratic statesmen are still numerous who act as at the time when beliefs prevalent among the people hardly influenced authority at all and essential matters were decided in chancelleries. But totalitarians have understood that where democracy reigns it gives considerable weight to public opinion. That is why they who trample it underfoot in their own domain have no greater concern than to win it over in the other camp, while the democracies who respect it abandon it to enemy propaganda without reacting. That is why propaganda is the primary front for the Soviets. That is why it matters little to Mr. Mikoyan that the State Department gave him the cold shoulder when, at the Waldorf Astoria, the welcome was warm. For eventually the State Department, being democratic, will act according to what ripens at the Waldorf.

The result is that, in the present antagonism between the free and the Soviet worlds, the political front is as decisive as the military front. The main weapons of political warfare being those of propaganda, the study of these techniques is becoming a central theme of the free world's resistance.

DIRECT PROSELYTISM AND INDIRECT PROPAGANDA

On the question of propaganda another nefarious mistake is made in the West, which is to believe that the seriousness of the danger can be gaged by the strength of Communist parties. Like all political systems whose appeal is not to support based on reason, Communist

totalitarianism moves ahead less on the conviction of its members than on the confusion of its opponents. Communist parties are merely firebrands, and the main effort of the Kremlin is to pervert or weaken the fabric it sticks them into. That is the governing idea behind active minorities, which Bolshevism put, in theory and into practice, from its inception. It has always won power—even in the U.S.S.R. and China—with parties very much in the minority, but in a tottering, undermined and deluded society.

Furthermore, the aim for years has no longer been to promote communism as an ideology, but to further the international game of the Soviet state. It is therefore a dangerous illusion to think that a country is safe because its Communist Party is weak, if pro-Soviet views meet with a wide response.

This paper will consequently devote only little space to direct propaganda whose aim is to win over members or voters for the Communist Party, the more so as it is pretty well known. We will chiefly be concerned with indirect propaganda or the contamination of minds which is intended to atrophy defensive reactions in non-Communist quarters.

I. DIRECT PROSELYTISM

SIZE OF COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS

Among members of NATO, only France and Italy have mass Communist Parties. Outside NATO, the chief mass CPs are those of Indonesia, India, and Finland. In about 20 other countries like Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Greece, Argentine, Uruguay, Chile, some Middle Eastern countries, CPs have a large membership. In the rest of the world they are weak or hardly more than sects, as in England and the United States. The total membership of CPs in all free countries amounts to 6 million, of which 3½ million are in the five mass parties, 2 million in the 20 or so "sturdy little parties," and half a million scattered in tiny groups. But whether of one size or another, there is not a single country in the world without its legal¹ or underground Communist Party.

Weak or strong, CPs are characterized everywhere by the following specific features:

1. They are strictly controlled by the Kremlin, whose orders they blindly carry out, whatever zigzags or disavowals that may mean.
2. They are not organized as parties, but as totalitarian states. They are fanatical, monolithic, intolerant. The top rules and manipulates the bottom, which only serves as a striking force. Even Fascist parties were only clubs of amateurs next to these barrack-ministries.
3. Its apparatus, in proportion to its membership, is 50 to 100 times better equipped with material and means of propaganda than that of any other party. Thus a CP has on the average 1 permanent (i.e., a paid activist) for 25 to 50 members, while other parties have 1 per 1,000 or 5,000 members. Its turnout of printed matter—news-papers, magazines, pamphlets, leaflets, posters, home bulletins, books—is also on the average 100 times greater per member than that of any other party, however rich it may be. The same proportion holds true for premises, card files, printing presses, and a still higher one

¹ Open.

for study groups, party schools, political meetings, protection services, et cetera.

The size of the apparatus in charge of this "direct proselytism" for communism throughout the world can be seen from the 2 following figures: 150,000 permanents aside from unpaid activists; 500 million dollars of annual expenditures.

PROFESSIONAL PROPAGANDISTS: THE PERMANENTS

The system of permanents, an outgrowth of Lenin's professional revolutionaries, determines the strength of CPs much more than their members or voters. For these jobs as paid agitators the party preferably enrolls persons of humble extraction or without ties, who will owe their rise to it and feel lost outside of it. It trains them in special schools, of which it has a complete range for the different spheres to be worked upon. Thus the CP has elementary schools of Leninism and advanced institutes, schools to train activists for the country, others for activists in towns, still others for activists overseas.

In these schools the future propagandists are first depersonalized, then reshaped according to a strict orthodoxy, trained to be "bodies" in the hands of the leaders, instructed in the techniques of organization and agitation. The party teaches them to like handling men more than mental gratification, power more than money, and power behind the scenes more than overt power. This makes it possible to confine them to anonymous tasks, to pay them as little as possible, and to assign them to any duty. It is easy to see the advantages that propagandists so trained represent for the Soviets, compared to the propagandists of bourgeois democratic parties, who value financial ease or abstract speculation.

These carefully trained and constantly supervised cadres—counterparts of the "professed" of the Jesuit Order—are the prime movers of the propaganda and life of CPs. In every country of the world they are numerous enough, if not for mass action, at least to take over the vital machinery of public life in case of a crisis. This ability to provide the staff for a coup at any time makes CPs, even when small, highly dangerous. An example of this was Guatemala, where the Communists seized power through third parties when their own membership was only about a thousand.

CP members are systematically maneuvered, deceived, intimidated. Of the mass of citizens fooled and misled by communism the most grossly fooled and misled are members of CPs. Once a person is caught in the Communist net through demagoguery or myth (the Revolution, the Soviet paradise, liberation of workers, higher and higher labor demands) he is kept there by the threat of reprisals if he leaves, either moral (slander, quarantine) or material (bodily harm, economic boycott). The basic formula can be stated as follows: Attract by intoxication and keep by fear. The main thing is to take away the member's free will, which makes the CP just the opposite of what a party should be. For the role of democratic parties is to educate citizens through free discussion. With the Communists the party is transformed from a home into a prison for ideas.

In summing it up, it may be said that, in the totalitarian style of their internal life as in the enormous size of their material means

and their unconditional subjection to the Kremlin, Communist Parties are not political parties in the usual sense of the term, but foreign branches of the Soviet state apparatus. Thus the rights are usurped which would entitle them to enjoy the guarantees that democracy cannot do otherwise than grant to genuine and free currents of opinion.

II. INDIRECT PROPAGANDA AMONG NON-COMMUNISTS

TECHNICAL MEANS

In this field it must be remembered that the propaganda in question aims not at enrolling Communist Party members but at disseminating, independently of any social doctrine, views that more or less openly serve Soviet foreign policy.

A GALLERY OF THE AUXILIARIES OF COMMUNISM

Bolshevism has always had a partiality for underground work and for gaining influence by using as relayers persons who do not admit to being on its side. This is an unpleasant phenomenon for democrats because they would prefer to air political differences only on the basis of professed ideas and allegiances. But it would be far more unpleasant—it would be disastrous if, on the ground that secret allegiances are repugnant, democrats shut their eyes to them. We must see the world as Moscow makes it, not as we would like it to be.

The gallery of auxiliaries of Soviet propaganda includes infinitely varied species, duties and methods. At one extreme we find the common hired agent, at the other the friend who will act only after tactful entreaty and according to the dictates of his conscience, but whose conscience has been subtly conditioned.² Between the two stretch all the shadings of crypto-Communists and fellow travelers, more or less circumvented, more or less chained by unnumerable ties going from money to sentiment, by way of ambition, cowardice, snobbery, loyalty, professional interest, etc. Some spread lies abroad on the blessings of the Soviet regime, others prevent the truth on its horrors from spreading. Some trumpet a "yes," others modulate a muted "but."

The havoc that can be wrought by these undercover relayers of Soviet propaganda was illustrated in the case of President Benes, who let himself be circumvented by them. When he realized that he had been duped, his country was already in chains, and he died of grief. It has come to light since then that his entourage had been expertly planted with crypto-Communist beaux esprits³ who dressed up theses favorable to the Kremlin for his use and who finally became his mental and moral guides. It should be borne in mind that in democratic regimes, where repute is gained through exchange of opinion, a certain "fashionable" phraseology, an "avant garde"⁴ attitude can shape the political positions of even the most responsible men. Beaux esprits, whose only task in life is to "benesify" great democratic pundits, were also to be found in the entourage of Presidents Herriot and Roosevelt.

² See statement of Harry Gold to the Internal Security Subcommittee, p. 3814, pt. 58, "Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States."

³ Bright minds.

⁴ Advance guard.

It cannot be denied that all parties try to win over "great friends," but Communists have enormously extended this method of scattering by echoes on preadjusted reflectors, making it a new phenomenon—new not only in its size, but also in its secret character. There is no democratic party which, to attract prominent sympathizers, uses men who deny that they like that party. The CP alone works behind a mask. There is plentiful evidence from disillusioned Communists of how the CP, at the time of their early enthusiasm, asked them not to take out a membership card in order to serve Soviet propaganda the better by apparent independence.

In view of the infinitely varied range of types and roles used by Communist propaganda, that counterfeit universe, it is difficult to find a single name to cover them all. For some the labels of "crypto-Communist" or "fellow traveler" are too mild, for others too strong. In this paper the more neutral term "auxiliaries"⁵ will be used, while specifying that it does not a priori involve any pejorative context—at least on the moral plane—since some auxiliaries only deceive because they are themselves deceived.

HOW SOVIET AUXILIARIES CAN BE RECOGNIZED

The assertion that Soviet propaganda uses auxiliaries as various as they are concealed makes it essential to be able to recognize them despite their concealment and their multiformity. Two traits constitute their distinctive mark: on the one hand, the auxiliary always supports all the positions supported by the Soviets in international affairs and changes them the very moment the Soviets do; on the other hand, toward the Soviet and Western regimes he adopts an attitude which systematically tends to blacken the latter and whitewash the former.

Here is a catalog of the auxiliary's positions in international politics, gathered at random and with no claim to exhaustiveness:

- Against building Europe and especially a European Army.
- For withdrawal of American troops from Europe.
- Against NATO and SEATO.
- For the right of veto at the UN.
- For abandonment of Berlin and disengagement in Germany.
- Against the Federal Germany of Bonn and the "revenge monger" Adenauer.
- For recognition of the Hankow and Peiping governments.
- For cessation of nuclear tests and disarmament without further control arrangements.
- Against installing missile-launching platforms directed toward the U.S.S.R. in Western Europe, but not against launching platforms directed toward Europe in the U.S.S.R.
- Against the "feudal and corrupt dictators" Chiang Kai-shek, Ngo Din Diem and Syngman Rhee, but for the anti-American dictators of Latin America, Peron and Vargas.
- For surrendering Quemoy and Matsu to Peiping.
- Against the Franco-British action at Suez, but for the anti-Franco-British action at Baghdad.
- Against Israel and for Arab nationalism, against France and for the FLN, against Britain and for the Mau-Mau, but in Moslem Kashmir for India against Pakistan.
- For a summit conference at any price.
- For "cultural exchanges" but without demanding that book censorship and radio jamming stop in the U.S.S.R.
- For total independence of the peoples of Asia and Africa from the West, but for total dependence of Eastern European satellites on the U.S.S.R.

⁵ The term is used hereafter to designate any person or group which follows the Communist line.

- Against free elections under international control in Germany, but for "elections" in Vietnam under the established governments, one of which is Communist.
- Against "Dollar imperialism" all over the world, but for "ruble aid" to under-developed countries.
- Against American bases in Europe and Asia, but for freedom of Soviet bases (Communist Parties) in every country.

It is quite clear that an independent mind can very well come (rightly or wrongly) to the same conclusions as the Soviets on one or another of these points, but it is impossible to be in systematic and synchronized agreement with all the positions of the Kremlin. It is by this kind of agreement that the auxiliary can be recognized.

INFILTRATION

This generic term "infiltration" can cover the whole system of secret channels that makes it possible to inject views favorable to the Soviets into all the cells of the free world. This system has links with Communist spy networks which transmit information. However, we need not discuss these networks here, and we shall confine our remarks to political infiltration, accomplished with a view to spreading pro- or proto-Soviet views.

The mechanism is always the same. One or more auxiliaries are put in the organization being infiltrated or [members are] won over. They remain in steady contact with outside auxiliaries, and the latter in turn are superintended by genuine crypto-Communist agents.

Contact between these various auxiliaries is kept up in clubs, salons, cafes, church associations for young people, as the case may be. Crypto-Communist propaganda passing through these channels is adapted to suit them. There is hardly any social, political or religious doctrine into which elements favorable to the Kremlin's foreign policy cannot be slipped with the appropriate dialectical twist, the more so as there is no need to respect Communist ideology which has nothing to do with the undertaking. These methods will be dealt with more specifically in the chapters on psychological and logomachic means of propaganda. The principal infiltrated organs must now be reviewed.

(a) *The press*

There are in the world few organs of the press, even when "bourgeois," in which the Soviet apparatus has no intelligence. The main task of auxiliaries in the press is to manipulate the editor, or if that is not feasible, the reporters, without the editor's knowledge. General notions like "this paper is conservative" or "Catholic" are not at all sufficient any longer to recognize the policy it follows toward Moscow. Sometimes the managers themselves are unaware that their newspaper is "permeated."

The most thoroughly infiltrated areas are international pages and book and film reviews. The propaganda role of reviewers is important because their opinion encourages many readers to read works supporting the Soviet line and ignore unfavorable ones.

Another method used by the Soviets to manipulate the press in free countries is "letter brigades." Auxiliaries claiming to be "devoted readers" write dozens of outraged letters when the paper has printed something too anti-Communist and letters of approval when it has recommended some concession to Moscow. As nothing of the kind is organized the other way round, this fabricated correspondence

exerts a far from negligible influence on the policy of newspapers that honestly believe they "must keep in tune with their readers."

(b) *News agencies*

Agencies form the subject of quite special efforts at infiltration. Their foreign correspondents represent an easier target for this purpose because they are cut off from their national environment and quite naturally seek contacts with diplomats, a third of whom belong to Communist countries and another third to "neutralist" ones, where Soviet propaganda and fallacies work havoc. It must also be confessed that the kind of life that can compensate for the castoff existence of some of these correspondents leaves them open to temptation.

(c) *Universities, primary and secondary schools*

Here, again, the proportion of auxiliaries of Moscow is considerably higher than that of Communists in a given country. Owing to the crucial importance of this field in shaping minds, it is worked on by all the instruments of Soviet propaganda from openly Communist to underground cells, through every gradation of embellishers, recruiters, lullaby-singers, and satellite organizations. In France, 20,000 school teachers hold a Communist Party card, more than 25 percent teach their classes following Communist directives they receive through innumerable channels: specialized magazines (*L'Ecole et la Nation*), bulletins, circulars, visits by party leaders. In Italy, the proportion is 40 percent. Sometimes these teachers go so far as to have their pupils sign crypto-Communist texts, such as the "Stockholm Appeal." When the French Government recalled teachers after an incident in Morocco, the French Communist Party ordered those under its control to stay at their posts and filled the vacancies that had been created with teachers loyal to it.

In India, teachers who make propaganda for Moscow use textbooks specially printed by the Indian Communist Party. In England, as in most European countries, the university is the chief refuge of "fellow travelers." European universities are so contaminated that the Communist and para-Communist movements of Asia and Africa can be said to have been nurtured in them.⁶

(d) *Churches*

Contrary to what might be expected, churches are also highly infiltrated. In France nearly 50 percent of the Catholic press—including *Témoignage chrétien*,⁷ the weekly with the largest circulation—have become relays of proto-Soviet views. It opposes the MRP, the political party with Catholic leanings, and in particular its policy of a European union. In the United States, the first great manifesto for recognition of the Communist Peiping government originated with a religious association, which includes 8,000 ministers and 30 million churchgoers and shelters numerous auxiliaries who have organized many a trip to Moscow and Peiping for their flocks. In 1955, a former member of the French Communist Party, Albert Vassart, revealed that in 1936 Moscow had sent out an order to have sure and carefully selected members of the Communist Youth enter seminaries and become priests. Others infiltrated the religious communities, particularly the Dominicans.

⁶ See pts. 1-13 of Internal Security Subcommittee's hearings on Subversive Influence in the Educational Process.

⁷ Christian witness.

In the Buriat-Mongolian Republic the Soviets have set up a seminary to train Buddhist lamas who spread throughout Asia and particularly in Tibet, where, being of the same race as the Tibetans, they are more welcome than lamas trained in Peiping. In Cambodia, Thailand, and Burma many Communists put on the yellow robe and became bonzes in order to indoctrinate the thousands of young people who frequent the bonze monasteries. Infiltration of all churches is one of the major tasks of the Soviet propaganda apparatus.

(e) *Other organs*

Infiltration is also considerable in publishing houses, particularly among readers of manuscripts;⁸ radio and television, a forum often decried as being subject to government censorship, but which is frequently much more pervaded by crypto-Communist propaganda; the cinema and the theater, which contribute to a very great extent in shaping sensibilities and are the subject of exceptional efforts at infiltration by the Kremlin; and finally, of course, ministries, especially ministries of foreign affairs, where certain internal reports inspired by proto-Soviet views have done great harm to the free world.

(f) *Trade unions and other parties*

Under this heading come organizations that are not infiltrated but totally colonized and which only duplicate Communist parties. As such, they will be handled in the following paragraph dealing with parallel organizations. Here we shall discuss only free parties and unions, in which Moscow plants numerous secret auxiliaries.

The task of these undercover propagandists is to give the party or union policy a slant favorable to Moscow and to create internal opposition that will try to take over leadership or break it up. Many of these auxiliaries came out into the open when their countries fell into the Soviet orbit: the names of Fierlinger, Cyrankiewicz, Marosan have become sadly symbolic in this connection. It is unfortunately beyond doubt that in our most democratic parties and unions a number of Fierlingers continue to work alongside honest activists. This is the infiltration area aimed at by Bolshevism for the longest time, and concerning which Lenin, in the "Childhood Disease of Communism," wrote the following words, which can stand as an epigraph to all Soviet infiltration, and if the free world does not take heed, as an epitaph on its own tomb:

"We must learn how to make use of all stratagems, of ruse, adopt illegal methods, keep silent at times, conceal the truth, with the sole aim of getting into the unions, staying there, and accomplishing the task of communism there in spite of everything" (p. 43).

PARALLEL ORGANIZATIONS

In the case of infiltration, auxiliaries act inside a group which as a whole is not under Communist control. In the case of parallel organizations, on the other hand, the whole group falls into the Communist wake, but without its being known. This practice is exclusive to Communist propaganda.

In all spheres of life, whether political, cultural like the cinema, technical like biology, or neutral like sport or eugenics, organizations

⁸ See testimony of Angus Cameron and Albert E. Kahn before Internal Security Subcommittee, pts. 6, 8, and 12, Strategy and Tactics of World Communism, and pt. 2, Communist Activity in Mass Communications.

are set up or colonized so as to make citizens work for the Communist Party who would never have been its followers if openly canvassed by it. Everything is to be found in this gigantic counterfeit, from mass organizations whose domination by the Communist Party is hardly covered up, such as (to take only French examples) the CGT, the Fighters for Peace, People's Assistance, the Union of Frenchwomen, France-U.S.S.R., to small groups like the Unitarian Socialist Party, the Union for the Oder-Neisse Border, by way of organizations of long standing which few people suspect of being under Communist control, like the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the Center of French Thought, the French University Union, the Association for Municipal Studies and Information, the Sport and Gymnic Federation of Labor, the Committee for the Development of International Trade, the Association of Scientific Workers, the National Union of Intellectuals, the French Democratic Youth Committee, the Friends of Nature, the National Union of Old Workers, the Federation of Rent-payers, the People's Musical Federation, etc.⁹

In France alone 140 such crypto-Communist organizations have been counted, each one with its offices, its staff, its publications. All countries, including the ones where Communist parties are insignificant, have comparable numbers of parallel organizations.

The managing organs of these satellite organizations contain, roughly speaking, a quarter of avowed Communists, a quarter of "fellow travelers", whose allegiance is camouflaged, a quarter recruited in that well-known social category of "political half-virgins," more or less innocent but naive people whose complaisance is remunerated with appearances on platforms and luster, and a quarter of constitutionally incurable virgins, whom no experience of political fraud will ever be able to deflower. Thanks to this mixture, these committees are, on the outside, as in the song: "independent although with a few Communists—why not, since we are free," and on the inside as the composer wants them: under the strict control of Moscow.

FACTIONAL WORK

In these crypto-Communist organizations propaganda is made, and members (many of whom do not realize that they are made to serve the Soviets) are manipulated by means of factional work, a well-known and formidable technique which has been specially worked out by the Soviets.

Such members—open card-holding Communists and strictly obedient auxiliaries—form factions that meet separately, in secret, before the general assemblies, to assign each person his role. They settle how long they will speak, decide what will be said or not said, prepare the texts which are to be approved or rejected, polish the instructions, cook up the advice to whisper in ears, work up the agreements which will have to look spontaneous, weave a few slanders to cast at the psychological moment at someone they fear may prove unmanageable. If the person suspected of disagreement happens to be too highly esteemed to be affected by slander he will be sent off on the day of the vote on an opportune mission. They will call in easily influenced absentees (housewives, unemployed persons for whom they will get work); a few months before a vote on a burning question they

⁹ American examples are listed in the appendix to this document, printed at p. 33.

will admit new members with whom they can do as they please, for those who are "green" are always cowed and understand nothing about the questions dealt with.

Thus a small nucleus of men who are determined, disciplined, working in phase, spurred on by the gratification of pulling strings, exalted by the feeling of serving a formidable power, all scruples behind them, can succeed in dominating groups of people much more numerous but loose knit, ill-informed, timid, irresolute, and held back by moral and ideological principles.

It can be said that the whole edifice of Soviet propaganda is built on the pattern of a pyramid of secret factions. The leaders at the top of each CP can be compared to a faction for infiltrating the party.¹⁰ The party itself constitutes a faction for infiltrating parallel organizations. Parallel organizations are factions for infiltrating the whole society. From top to bottom prevails the governing idea of bolshevism, which is to subject a majority without cohesion to a well-knit minority.

THE ADVANTAGES DERIVED FROM PARALLEL ORGANIZATIONS

Parallel organizations pay the Soviets big dividends. By having stands which do not look like servile echoes of the Kremlin's dictates taken in the most varied circles, they procure a much wider audience for its campaigns than would be the case if CPs were alone to support them openly. People are always more impressed by the activity of supposedly "independent" groups than by that of henchmen. While the CP would remain isolated if it only appeared under its true colors, it gives the impression that proto-Soviet stands are taken by a vast and genuine national movement, thanks to hundreds of trick mirrors that reflect its orders from every point of the horizon and at hundreds of different angles. One has to be very well aware of the reality to be able to free oneself of such a mirage.

As we see, the task consists in transposing the music of Moscow into the different registers of trade unionists, philosophers, pacifists, Christians, etc, while giving them the impression that what they play is not a transposition but an original work. Thus the credulous Othello is led on toward Iago's ends by being made to believe that these ends are his own desire. As a result Othello strangles Desdemona, whom he worships. In the same way progressives, maneuvered by parallel organizations, stab to death the freedom that they revere.

Even tiny crypto-Communist organizations can play an important part in Soviet propaganda. By enrolling the flying squads of Communist front organizations under their name they succeed in putting pressure on Members of Parliament. When a Member of Parliament receives their delegations he is often unaware of the fact that they are sent by puppet groups of Communist allegiance and does not dare show them to the door. In some cases post facto colonization of groups originally founded by free citizens allows the CP to capitalize on the prestige and loyalty that these groups have accumulated on the strength of glorious traditions or services rendered. This is the case with the League of the Rights of Man in France.

¹⁰ I.e. by placing their supporters in positions of responsibility within the party organization.

In underdeveloped and ex-colonial countries parallel organizations play a leading part. As proto-Soviet propaganda in these countries chiefly exploits national and anticolonial feeling, the true face of communism is almost completely camouflaged there, and the essential part of the task of corrupting minds and planting Soviet agents is entrusted to parallel organizations. The camouflaging of these organizations is also easier because Afro-Asian circles are less experienced and the atmosphere more feverish. Because of this they take on the stature of major political forces.

Let us mention at random the Association for the Advancement of Asian Peoples, the Union of the Population of Cameroon (UPC), the Association of Frenchmen of Tunisia, the Study and Action Committee for Peace in Algeria, activated by Communists and Christian progressives; the General Union of Algerian Workers (UTA), whose headquarters is at present in Czechoslovakia.

OCCASIONAL FRONTS AND CAMPAIGNS

Apart from the permanent subsidiaries that the Kremlin colonizes underhandedly, temporary movements are organized: fronts, solidarity days, rallies on topical questions such as "for freeing the Rosenbergs," "against EDC," "for stopping nuclear tests," "against German rearmament," all of them hidden behind a screen of political neutrality. Among a thousand others might be mentioned the "day of solidarity with the people of Cameroon," organized in 1959 in the Palace of Culture in Moscow.

For big occasions the apparatus gives its all. It stages some universal peoples' congress, some world youth rally, some international writers' meeting. Travel and hotel expenses are paid for numerous delegates, radio is put to work, trumpets are sounded, lamas are brought forth.

A classic example of a "big affair" which everyone remembers, was the campaign waged for the "Stockholm appeal" by the para-Communist Fighters for Peace Association. At a cost of tens of millions of dollars spent on propaganda the appeal collected 50 million signatures outside of the Communist countries, many given in good faith.

Whenever a particularly pressing threat appears in Moscow's path these fronts and committees swell into veritable floods. During the French parliamentary debates on EDC and then the Paris agreements the flood became a deluge. Crypto-Communist committees sprang up in factories, hospitals, laboratories under the most varied names, from the most explicit like "against German rearmament" to the most sibylline like "for the independence of French culture." All the while the debate went on in Parliament and the Senate on EDC and then on the Paris agreements, representatives in favor of them were submerged every day by hundreds of letters from these committees, containing appeals, warnings, even threats of getting even on the great night of the revolution. Some of them warned the representatives of the people that if they passed EDC their pictures would be exposed to public vengeance on every wall in France, and others that their private businesses would be boycotted.

The number of these letters has been estimated at over 15 million. Morning and night delegations came knocking at the door of Members of Parliament to hand them petitions, indoctrinate them, intimidate

them. Telephones never stopped ringing. The purpose of this staging, unique in the annals of political conspiracy, a real Iliad of proto-Soviet propaganda, was to give Members of Parliament the impression that a deep wrath had seized all strata of the population at the prospect of a European army. In fact, by an old cinema trick, the very same "extras" reappeared 10 times in different costumes to create the impression of a crowd. But the staging worked. The terrible pressure of it resulted in more than one hostile vote, and EDC was rejected, a turning point in postwar history and a major Soviet victory won solely through propaganda.

POPULAR FRONTS

Under the heading of occasional fronts special mention must be made of the notorious popular fronts. This has been one of the most effective techniques of spreading Soviet imperialism. Taking advantage of the fact that many uninformed democrats always put it "to the left," the CP seizes opportunities offered by some threats for the aspirations of the left (rightist danger, or danger of economic regression) and proposes to the parties of the left a fight in common.

If the latter falls into the trap, the united committees that form are immediately beleaguered by Communist activists and auxiliaries, whose apparatus, discipline, immorality outclass a hundred times anything the other partners can produce. The allies in popular fronts are then systematically bullied by demagogic excess, bluffed by "leftist" attitudes, fooled by a thousand intrigues, fleeced in a thousand ways, and should they resist, slandered and even physically eliminated. During the Spanish civil war not a day passed in which the Communists did not stab their republican associates in the back. During the resistance a good number of French patriots fell under the blows of agents of Moscow, who, behind the front of maquis activity against the Nazis, liquidated their democratic opponents.

If a popular front triumphs and succeeds in taking over the machinery of the state, then Communists eliminate their allies of yesterday with Machiavellianism and method: They "slice them to eat like a salami." The Communist Rakosi described the operation in this cynical way.

The popular fronts best known for having increased the strength of the CP or carried it to power were those of 1936 and of the resistance in France, and after the war those of Italy, Ceylon, Indonesia, Iraq, the one that brought Ho Chi-minh to power in Indochina, the two concluded in 1924 and 1937 with the Kuomintang, which were step-ladders for Mao's accession in China, the one that turned over Guatemala to henchmen, and all those which in Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia resulted in satellization of the country and wiping out in blood the democrats who had concluded them.

Socialist parties have been particularly aimed at by these tactics. Many of them, including the French SP, have therefore had sufficiently bitter experience to be immune. Unfortunately the popular front mirage still attracts other circles, radical and Catholic in Europe, nationalist in Asia, anticolonial in Africa. Despite numerous and tragic precedents, the tribe of Benes is not extinct, the tribe of those democratic leaders, who, in alliances with Communists, are blind enough to go through these three now standard stages: supplying

them with a cover, turning power over to them, and disappearing into the grave.

UTILIZATION OF DIPLOMACY, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC EXCHANGES

Soviet diplomacy is not diplomacy in the usual sense of the term. It is another and one of the principal spheres of Soviet propaganda. Every form of exchange between Communist and other countries, whether diplomatic, cultural, commercial, technical, or athletic, is conceived and worked out with propaganda in mind. Not of course open propaganda for communism, but propaganda of an indirect, enveloping, underhanded kind for pro-Soviet views.

All members of Soviet missions abroad are trained primarily to charm and lull to sleep high political or financial circles in the countries they are to undermine. The notion prevalent in the West that contacts with them may "widen their horizons and humanize their views" is absurd, for these are not men who can give free rein to their inclinations, but docile tools of the apparatus; they are regimented, watched, and kept in line by means of family hostages whom they have left behind in their country. On the other hand, the circles to be invested in the West are open to their devices through ignorance, unpreparedness, courtesy as well as infatuation with what comes "from afar" and snobbery for what comes "from the left." When the West puts a man in an exchange institute it is for carrying out exchanges. When the Soviets do so it is for subversion.

In Japan two Chinese industrial missions held three conferences with industrialists and gave 15 political-social parties. In France a Vietminh trade mission which had promised the Government not to depart from the business sphere notified every diplomatic mission of its arrival as soon as it reached Paris and distributed political leaflets to Viet students at the Sorbonne.

The Soviet personnel in ordinary and extraordinary embassies, exhibitions, tours, economic and cultural missions, surpasses that of the free world by a ratio that is sometimes as high as 10 to 1. In Ethiopia, for example, Soviet services alone have more personnel than all the other embassies put together. In Mexico they have three times as many employees as the United States. In Argentine, in Indonesia, the proportion is just as abnormal. And it should be borne in mind that their propaganda efforts are relayed and amplified by the diplomatic, economic, and cultural services of the satellite countries and Communist China. Finally may be mentioned the well-known part played by Soviet diplomatic representations as a channel in distributing funds to Communist and crypto-Communist apparatus.

INVITATIONS OF PROMINENT FIGURES

The Soviets also derive a considerable propaganda advantage from organized visits of delegations and prominent people whom they invite to the countries they dominate. Under the guise of information and goodwill tours an enormous machine of hoax and perversion is hidden. The operation of this machine has become a real industry. In the U.S.S.R. and China it employs tens of thousands of people full time. In China, for instance, visitors are divided into eight categories. Tours and an appropriate reception are organized for each category;

below the fourth no more flowers are presented at the airport. Schools train guide-interpreters, most of them attractive young women working for the secret police. The model achievements shown, the persons produced, the answers given, the tone of the welcome are all pre-arranged and dressed up with the greatest care.

Soviet and Chinese Government expenditures in this field alone, not to mention the time wasted by workers in the institutions visited, exceed \$100 million yearly. But the money yields hundredfold returns. Books and articles relating these trips abound in the West. The rose-colored view of a somber and totalitarian world that is taken in these "returns" and "impressions" has become standard. Proof of the advertising effectiveness of such stagings can be found in the accounts that appeared in Stalin's time. The greatest names of the West signed euphoric reports on a regime which by the very admission of Khrushchev is now known to have been one of the most nightmarish tyrannies in history. Davies, the American Ambassador, defended the Moscow trials and certified the charge of treason against Tukhachevski, which the Khrushchev report at the 20th party congress recognized as gross fabrication. In Kiev, in the Ukraine, Edouard Herriot saw a prosperous population the very year famine caused 6 million deaths in that region. Unfortunately, in spite of these deplorable precedents, illusion touring continues to dupe millions of people to Moscow's advantage.

**BREAKING ANTI-COMMUNISTS: SLANDER, INTIMIDATION, KIDNAPING,
MURDER**

An important task of Soviet propaganda is not only to circumvent the gullible, but also to reduce those who clearly realize the danger and zealously proclaim it to a state of powerlessness. Against these people are launched campaigns limitless in intensity as in ignominy. The Communists attempt to make lepers of them, to develop veritable reflexes in public opinion so that a halo of hatred will be instinctively associated with their name. Communist and crypto-Communist apparatus put all their ammunition to use in this task and shrink from neither slander nor provocation, forgery nor blackmail. Here auxiliaries play a leading role: that of scandalmongers. Sometimes the Soviet apparatus will denounce an anti-Communist as an underground Communist. Sometimes they will lead the police to believe that he is a terrorist or a trafficker. Slander against the anti-Communist writer Victor Serge reached such a point that even well-disposed police services no longer knew what to think.

The apparatus of Moscow said that Leon Blum was a police auxiliary and purveyor of convicts, charged De Gaulle with having worked for German intelligence, and Soustelle with being a Nazi spy; Syngman Rhee with having sold his country to Japan (charges to be found in the Soviet Encyclopedia or signed by leaders like Maurice Thorez). One of the worst infamies has just been flung at Guy Mollet: he has been accused of nothing less than having denounced people interned with him to the Gestapo. Essentially, these and similar attacks are fabrications from beginning to end; devoid of any foundation and made in the full knowledge that they constitute unmitigated lies.

In the easygoing atmosphere of the democracies, the endless repetition of abusive attacks has a devastating effect. - Indeed, it is not too

much to say that there are few people who, having become the target for Communist attacks, did not eventually either lose heart or become suspect themselves to world public opinion.

The struggle against convinced anti-Communists proceeds from simple premises. The effectiveness of this struggle is due to the fact that it goes on relentlessly and in practically every key. The struggle is marked by the use of a vocabulary including such terms of abuse as "Rightist," "Fascist," "negative element," "dim wit," "police informer," "systematic anti-Communist." This last expletive is the highest form of abuse. And yet quite a few democrats have been trying to convince themselves that there is something reprehensible in being a systematic anti-Communist, forgetting that they take pride in being systematically anti-Fascist. What's more, they see nothing incongruous in the Communists being systematically antidemocratic. And it is difficult to see how a systematic evil can be fought in any other way than by systematic opposition. This simple truth has not been lost on the Communists. Indeed, one of the main tasks of Communist propaganda is to maintain an atmosphere of constant denigration and criticism of consistent anticommunism.

The success achieved by the Communists in this particular field has been such that a truly unheard-of situation has come about in the Western World, in which anticommunism is often regarded as a greater evil than communism. When one of the parties in a relentless and merciless struggle discovers that it is considered bad form to fight back with the same weapons, it goes without saying that their opponents have scored a major victory in the battle of propaganda which aims at nothing less than the intellectual intimidation of those opponents.

Such intimidation, moreover, thrives on its own effects. So far as serious and enlightened circles keep silent, they leave stigmatizing communism to reactionary extremists alone; the contention "anti-communism equals reaction" thus seems confirmed; and serious and enlightened circles keep more silent than ever. McCarthy cast such discredit on exposing cryptocommunism that it is now no longer possible to accuse somebody of it without being called a witch hunter. Yet it is quite sure that cryptocommunism did not disappear by magic with McCarthy.

When intimidation does not succeed in crushing the counter-propaganda of some particularly prominent anti-Communists, the Soviets do not shrink from crime to silence their voices. They murder them (Trotsky, Krivitsky, Nin, etc.) or kidnap them (Trushnovitch).

RADIO BROADCASTS

This propaganda channel is too well known to need emphasizing. We shall only remark that in this sphere, where the United States have made an exceptional effort, the Soviets still surpass them by a ratio of 4 to 1 in broadcasting time. France, on whom half-a-dozen Soviet stations pour out French-language programs, has not a single Russian-language broadcast.

The Soviets do not merely fill the air with their broadcasts; they set up crypto-Communist radio stations wherever they can. Thus engineers of the East German Radio are installing a powerful transmitter in Conakry so that Soviet propaganda may radiate from the very heart of Africa.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

One of the characteristics of Bolshevism is a wealth of special schools to train propagandists. Every Communist Party in every country has such schools to shape its agitators. In France there are six, among them the Viroflay School and a Leninist University. The abler students go on to study in Moscow or Leningrad in institutes innocuously labeled "economic and social." There were trained the professional revolutionaries Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, Ho Chi-minh, Bagdache, and many others.¹¹ Students often register under an assumed name, their real identity being kept secret.

In Tashkent in Soviet Turkmenistan there operates a university for Afro-Asiatic studies. It is attended by thousands of yellow and black students, the latter chiefly native of Ghana, Guinea, Sudan, Cameroon, to whom recruiters propose a 3-year program with periods in various institutes. The curriculum includes methods of camouflaged propaganda and various ways of investing a country. This university has become the nursery of the Kremlin's auxiliaries in underdeveloped countries.

To some extent Prague has taken over from Moscow. Its western setting, its cultural prestige, are more attractive. Here operate two schools for "elites", especially from ex-colonial countries. Sekou Touré (the present President of Guinea) [as well as] the brother of Dr. N'Krumah of Ghana, the brother of Fidel Castro of Cuba, and many others studied in these schools. The chief espionage schools are also in Prague. The center of special schools for propagandists in the Far East has moved to Peking. Every year it turns out several hundred anticolonialist apostles and fellow travelers who will be sent to Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia, Japan. In addition to this, regular universities in Communist countries have departments which, under an academic cloak, are in fact nurseries of auxiliaries: departments of colonial problems, departments of afriology, departments of vernacular dialects, of primitive economics, and so on.

The total number of indoctrinators turned out by all these beehives can be estimated at several thousand a year.

Special schools are a terrible weapon. For the small or poor man admitted into them, the long trip and discovery of new countries mean a promotion and pleasant memories. The students make lasting friends, savor the intoxication of initiation, feel in contact with an imposing power and entrusted with a mission of trust, absorb techniques that make them different and important. Above all they believe in having become bearers of a truth. This is the mainspring of missionary work, and it will be continually rewound by frequent contacts and technical and material aid. The truth they learn is in fact a lure, but its rational content matters little. What matters is apprenticeship in a certain phraseology, in a verbal system that supplies classified answers to every question, in an art of discussion

¹¹ See testimony of Leonard Patterson re Gus Hall, current general secretary of the Communist Party USA Feb. 2, 1960, and of Joseph Zac Kornfeder, pt. 2, Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean, both before the Internal Security Subcommittee.

which actually has more to do with acrobatics than intelligence, but which hypnotizes an audience.

III. ESTIMATE OF THE MAGNITUDE OF PROPAGANDA MEDIA BROUGHT INTO PLAY BY MOSCOW

In countries where a powerful apparatus for direct Communist proselytism exists it is estimated that the apparatus of parallel and crypto-Communist organizations has about the same size. In countries where the Communist Party is weak or nonexistent the parallel apparatus remains extremely large. If the fact is added that undercover corruption costs the most, it can be concluded that the crypto-Communist propaganda apparatus throughout the world employs roughly 300,000 people and costs \$1,500 million a year.

If the figures for direct Communist propaganda are included, plus those for the propaganda effort within Communist countries for foreign use (guided tours, radio broadcasts, special schools), the following rough estimate can be made:

The various forms of Communist propaganda throughout the world involve a personnel of about 500,000 and an annual expenditure of approximately \$2,000 million.

This effort is made to circumvent about 1 milliard ¹² people outside the Communist orbit, so that it can be said that Moscow (with slight aid from Peking) spends \$2 a year per freeman to be subjugated.

To grasp the magnitude of this figure expressing the scope of the political war Moscow wages against us, we should remark that an American Senate committee has estimated the sums allocated by the United States to world propaganda at 1¼ cents per person per year. If the budgets of all other free countries are added the total hardly comes to 2 cents.

On this point the Soviet effort is roughly 100 times as great as that of all the rest of the world, and thus it is a phenomenon of an entirely different nature. In fact, the Communist and para-Communist propaganda apparatus is a colossus unique in kind and scope in human history. That is one essential truth about communism which must be always borne in mind.

THE MAINSPRINGS OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA

Money

The motive power of this fantastic machine is money, mostly drawn from overexploitation of enslaved toiling masses under the Communist yoke. These masses work to exhaustion for absurdly low wages to enable their masters not only to dominate them the better, but also to deceive more successfully the toiling masses in free countries.

A substantial supplement is poured into the golden stream of rubles in the form of profits of a series of industrial and commercial export-import companies established by auxiliaries in our democracies for Iron Curtain countries.

In countries where Communist Parties are very strong, systematic racketeering in institutions taken over by them, such as municipalities and workers' councils, is another substantial source of revenue.

With regard to the role of money it should be emphasized how unworthy it is for professedly rational thinkers to pretend to inno-

¹² 1 billion.

cence and belief in miracles where communism is concerned while refusing to admit that the sympathy of many freemen for so ruthless a tyranny as Moscow's can only be explained by corruption.

It should be emphasized further that, in the main, the immense size of the material means brought into play is sufficient to account for the success of communist propaganda. Many people hate to explain political power by the apparatus at its disposal and want at all costs to regard social crises as its base. It cannot be denied that social injustice or national dependence do supply themes for the agitation that forms the roots of the tremendous vegetation of communism. But the rain that makes it grow is Soviet money.

The Marxian idea that political power always reflects economic conflicts took shape at a time when propaganda had not grown into an enterprise in itself. No doubt communism was able to take root in some countries in 1918 owing to a conjunction of social conditions. But once the original planting had taken hold, the influence of Moscow was perpetuated through a process of bureaucratic ossification that was exactly the same abroad as within the U.S.S.R. At bottom the extraordinary longevity of totalitarian states is accounted for by the strength of their apparatus for domination. And today it is recognized by the best minds that state machinery has become a distinct sui generis factor in events, as worthy of entering the tabernacle of historical causes as the "sacred" production relations. Communist propaganda is only a wheel in the machinery of the Soviet State.

The power of organization

One important characteristic of Soviet propaganda is that it is embodied in organizations: parties, associations, committees, congresses, unions, societies, clubs. Bolshevism has made a capital discovery: the power of organization. In this it has revealed its thorough understanding of the major phenomenon we mentioned at the beginning: the passing of modern societies into the age of politicism. Propaganda only spreads the germs; it is the organization that maintains the epidemic. In it and through it adepts become soldiers. Within it minds are brought in line, hearts synchronized, wills subjected. Organization is to propaganda what the factory is to science. A Communist is the bourgeois of organization as the capitalist was the bourgeois of manufacturing.

Gullibility of the free world

Strange as it may seem, a third motive force behind Soviet propaganda—and not the least—is the eagerness of the free world's press to respond to it without charge. The real power of the Kremlin's propaganda substantially surpasses the formidable magnitude we have evaluated, because it is voluntarily taken up and orchestrated by all democratic organs. With their love of sensation, their search for exciting news, their need to sell, their naivete about Soviet tricks and lies, they repeat a number of these tricks and lies of their own free will, without even having to be induced to do so by the auxiliaries who infiltrate them. Thus, the Soviets dispose of many more mirrors than their own for catching their larks.

IV. PSYCHOLOGICAL MEANS

Having reviewed the technical means of Soviet propaganda we shall deal in this section with the strings it pulls to attract feelings, and in the following section, with the fallacies to which it resorts to delude minds.

SHAMELESS DEMAGOGY

The simplest and unfortunately most effective means used by Soviet propaganda is simply vulgar demagoguery, but enlarged to a scale hitherto considered impossible. Thus, it was never believed possible to kindle contradictory discontents simultaneously. Yet that is what the Kremlin does every day: setting town against country because bread is too dear, country against town because grain is too cheap, tradesman against official in the name of initiative, official against tradesman in the name of planning, European against American in the name of culture, American against European in the name of peace; stirring up the prejudices most contrary to the internationalist and antisocial doctrines it professes, such as chauvinism, when it is a question of arousing Franco-German enmity, and anti-Semitism, if Israel happens to stand in the way of Soviet imperialism; and even enrolling the ages and dialectic in the service of its impostures by wrapping them up into the "historical process." Communist demagoguery is the first to have dared assume the dimensions and the blazon of history.

NO LIMIT TO FALSEHOOD AND DUPLICITY

That Bolshevism has attained to absolute falsehood is apparent from its basic position, for it promises total liberation and organizes total enslavement. The following is a very incomplete list of examples of its methods, whose equivalent in imposture content is not to be found in any other movement in history:

- Calling the troops who bring the cruelest subjection to the country they conquer "armies of liberation."
- Offering their services as partners to "defend freedom" and preparing tyranny.
- Inciting workers to demand trade union rights and ruthlessly taking them away as soon as power is won.
- Labeling the tendency to equalize income "bourgeois" in Communist countries and "communist" in bourgeois countries.
- Forcing innocent people to "confess" they are criminals and worship their executioners.
- Calling compulsory voting for single candidates an "election" and sessions of unanimous endorsement "debates."
- Condemning West German rearmament after having overarmed East Germany, etc.

Not much thought has been given in the West to the fact that for the first time in history a political system has actually been built on a hundred percent lies, with the further characteristic that lying is practiced ostentatiously. The strong point of this excess is that it saturates and wearies mistrust. Freemen living in a world where a minimum of good faith is observed (if only because political rivalry prevents one side from carrying falsehood too far since the other can unmask it) simply cannot believe that falsehood can reach this point.

Further, it is impossible for feeling not to be polarized in favor of communism, if it always appears disguised in winning words. Don't

democrats always discuss the Soviet regime in terms of "communism," as if it followed the generous doctrines formulated a hundred years ago under that name? Whereas they ought long ago to have adopted the term "fascism" or "absolutism" for it.

THE THIEF CRYING "THIEF"

The old trick of the thief who cries "thief" to divert attention from himself is well known. It is a fundamental stratagem of Soviet propaganda, which does nothing else when, preparing the severest exploitation that ever existed, it arouses Western workers against exploitation. But the chief field for applying this stratagem is supplied by the peoples of Asia and Africa. By urging them to fix their eyes, concentrate their cries, shake their fists at defunct Western colonialism, crypto-Communist propaganda prevents them from seeing, hearing, checking Soviet colonialism on the upsurge.

PLAYING ON INERTIA AND LAZINESS

Communism speculates on the political inertia by which the sympathy once won for it among Western liberals by its early kinship with Socialist movements and their emancipating aims is extended to it. It can be said that communism has made its whole career as an impostor among the left, by leading the left to believe that it is for the workers, for progress, economic rationality, social justice, the independence of peoples; in short, that it stands for the same ideas as the left, when in fact it is digging a grave for the left.

While the U.S.S.R. leads "advanced" thinkers to believe that its economy has no equal in the world, it leads "conservative" thinkers to believe that its diplomacy is the same as everybody else's. In the first case it plays on the inertia that perpetuates credos, in the second on the laziness that favors quietude; and in both it lies. The notion that the U.S.S.R. is a power "like the others" in its international behavior caters to intellectual laziness because it eliminates the necessity of giving special treatment to Soviet ways. And that yields the Kremlin substantial profits, for it induces western leaders to believe that with the Soviets a conference, a treaty, a minister are a conference, a treaty, a minister, when actually the Kremlin dictatorship has turned them respectively into a trap, a rag, a menial.

All the considerations which tend to dissolve the abnormal, sham character of the Soviet world into normal standards of decency contribute greatly to its victory. Let us mention at random a few such considerations which find a wide response in the West:

A Soviet statesman was a comrade in arms; yes, but whereas in the West a statesman is still a man whose personal inclinations and friendships may count, in the U.S.S.R. he is a strict performer of the Politbureau's directives.

The Russian people do not want war (any more than any other people); yes, but while in the West the people have a bearing on politics, in the U.S.S.R. they have nothing to say.

A conference is better than a rebuff; yes, between people who confer to explain themselves or reach an agreement, not with the Soviets, who do so only to bring into play the tricks and duplicity of the

propaganda by which they hope to win the contest without striking a blow.

Everyone has done some wrong; yes, but the wrongs of some are wrongs; those of the Soviets are crimes.

CAPITALIZING ON ITS OWN TURPITUDE

Soviet propaganda resorts to this practice proscribed by the laws of decency, when, for instance, after having compelled democracies to rearm, it capitalizes on the remorse with which rearming fills them.

BLUFFING DEMOCRACIES ON THEIR OWN PRINCIPLES

The Kremlin, now much more colonialist and imperialist than the West, plays on the uneasy conscience that the past faults of the West create in western public opinion:

- It plays on the traditional pacifism of this public opinion to make all firmness look like warmongering.
- It plays on democracy's tolerance to induce it to tolerate CPs, the personification of intolerance.
- It plays on liberal circles' concern for objectivity to incite neutralism on the pretext of striking a balance between America's faults and those of the U.S.S.R., when it is impossible to be neutral between the camp of freedom and the camp of slavery.
- It plays on liberals' traditional mistrust of their own state to freeze them into an oppositional temper, which paralyzes any uniting of western forces against Soviet totalitarianism.

In short, one of the keys of Soviet propaganda is burying liberals in their own principles as in a shroud. It is high time for democrats to shake off the spell and reject the speculation made on their purity by the impure.

PLAYING ON FEAR

Many of the successes of Soviet propaganda are due not to conviction but to fear. The Kremlin displays its power to the maximum and even displays more than it actually has. In this way it develops a concession reflex among the masses, and gets a great many prominent persons to go over to its side, in the belief that in case of victory such a power will be ruthless to its opponents, while no risk is run in berating the western camp, considering its tolerance.

PLAYING ON RIVALRIES

Communist propaganda pounces on every bone of contention that divides the free world and embitters conflicts at will. It drums up our national, ideological, economic rivalries. If the free world were not threatened by Communist totalitarianism it would be right to let play these frictions, from which an advanced society can derive ferments of progress in normal times. But indulging in them at the moment when the combined forces of all its members are barely sufficient to meet the bear getting ready to swallow them all, it reveals its decay and brings to mind the spectacle of Byzantium lost in arguments over the Eucharist on the eve of the Turks' entrance within its walls.

PLAYING ON IGNORANCE

In democracies the masses and a large part of the elite are only incidentally concerned with politics, for they have not yet realized that their own philosophy, subordinating government to the consent of the governed, makes their fate depend on politics. The Soviets have realized this. That is the reason why, while they crush freedom of opinion in their own realm, they have overequipped themselves to circumvent it in our countries. They are active in politics every day, every year, and have accumulated, for the use of democrats—who are only Sunday politicians—an enormous stockpile of views, counterviews, formulas, fallacies, attitudes, dialectical arguments which are hollow and easily taken to pieces if closely examined, but which impress laymen. Here they enjoy the benefits of a bluff that an unscrupulous specialist can easily put over on well-meaning amateurs. When they impress the good people of the West with all their stock of pedantic systems, we witness a resurrection of Molière's doctor pontificating in Latin in front of a bourgeois. Here there is a gaping hole in the intellectual armour of the free world.

PLAYING ON FRIVOLITY

Mr. Mikoyan in the US * * *.

PLAYING ON FORBEARANCE

Mr. Macmillan in the U.S.S.R. * * *.

V. LOGOMACHIC MEANS

The unpreparedness of democracies in both knowledge of the facts and the art of discussion makes it possible for the Soviets to flood the free world with fallacies painstakingly cooked up, with views apparently plausible but actually playing into the hands of the Soviets.

CHANGING FRAME OF REFERENCE AND LIGHTING

To mislead judgment, Communist propaganda first uses a subtle and effective method which consists in tacitly changing frames of reference and lighting when passing from the Soviet regime to the free world's. The following table summarizes the most current of these modifications of criteria and attitudes, surreptitiously carried out by auxiliaries.

	Concerning the Soviet regime	Concerning Western regimes
Frame of reference adopted for judging.	Dialectic.....	Ethics.
Terms of reference used for judging..	The future..... The historical process..... Ends.....	The past. The blemishes of the present. ✓ Means.
Elements considered valid for judging.	Promises..... Doctrines.....	Achievements. ✓ Abuses.
Attitude adopted.....	Deterministic.....	Purist.
Intellectual standards.....	Dialectical weaving (to evade contradictions). Seruples (to obstruct censure)...	Logical rigor (to emphasize contradictions). Polemics (to speed up censure).
Key words thrown into speeches.....	The people..... Progress..... Work.....	Money. Stagnation. ✓ Exploitation.
Style of approval.....	Vibrant.....	Stiff.
Style of criticism.....	Stiff.....	Vibrant.
State of mind cultivated.....	Open.....	Guilty.

FALLACY NO. 1: WE ARE FACED WITH A CONFLICT BETWEEN "TWO BLOCS" THE U.S.S.R. AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

This propaganda theme satisfies the old liberal vision that international clashes never have anything but a sordid economic basis. The services it renders to the U.S.S.R. are the following:

Establishing equality of guilt between the U.S.S.R. and the United States as countries equally engaged in defending or extending their empire.

Thanks to this false symmetry, hiding unilateral Soviet practices and aims of aggression and hegemony.

Since the question is only one of rivalry between interests, inducing uninvolved countries to believe they can stand aside, therefore remain neutral.

Yet the conflict is neither national nor economic. It does not take place between two empires nor between socialism and capitalism. Whatever opinion one may hold on these two systems, it is clear that the rulers in the Kremlin hate socialism as much as capitalism when appearing in a democratic form. The Kremlin only embodies a combination of political absolutism and economic bureaucracy which makes it possible to exploit and oppress people with unequalled harshness. It has but one ambition, to make its totalitarian state apparatus perdure, and, to serve this ambition, only one means, extending the domination of that apparatus to the whole world. For it cannot bear on its flank the presence of a free society whose way of life dissolves the Soviet armature of lies and fascinates its fettered subjects. It is because the West personifies democracy that the U.S.S.R. wants to crush it.

The conflict is then between freedom and dictatorship, between a humanistic open-society civilization and a despotic closed-tribe system. That is the reason why minds even more than territory are at stake. That is the reason why it concerns every man, at every corner of the earth. If "bloc" is to mean the totality of threatened nations, then the term must be widened to cover the whole of the free world, not

limited to the United States. And in this whole the most directly coveted part today is Europe and Asia, not America. If facing the U.S.S.R. the United States is the fortress, Eurasia is the prey. Washington supplies a shield, but the first objective of Soviet aggression is Paris, London, Delhi.

FALLACY NO. 2: THE SOVIETS BRISTLE BECAUSE THEY ARE AFRAID

The notion that the U.S.S.R. is bristling with missiles and surrounded by a glacis because she fears attack from the West is one of the absurdities on which proto-Soviet propaganda makes Westerners stumble the most often. This notion appeals to many of them because they strive for the prestige of the so-called "au-dessus de la melee"¹³ attitude and because it is an extension of the old resentment over the anti-Bolshevik intervention of 1919-20. It does the Soviets considerable service because it results in total inversion of responsibilities: to the Soviets, the aggressors, has fallen the role of the poor besieged, and to the West, the victim of aggression, the obligation of proving its innocence.

✓ The idea that the Soviets act aggressively only through fear will not bear examination. No government in the free world has the slightest intention of assailing the U.S.S.R., and the free world gave striking proof of it by disarming and remaining disarmed in the face of an overarmed Russia from 1945 to 1951. After the Communist aggression in Korea the Western powers did rearm in their turn, but this was in pure self-defense. They only began to rearm Western Germany when faced with the overarming of Eastern Germany.

It is preposterous to imagine that the rulers in Moscow, who are always well informed, think the contrary of so evident a truth. In fact they are perfectly convinced that no democratic power wants to wage a war against them, and if they pretend to believe the opposite it is to substantiate the myth of "capitalist encirclement" which plays a leading role in their propaganda, as it supplies the only plausible pretext for excusing their dictatorship. It is the old trick of Hitler, the poor lamb worried by the big bad wolves of Prague and Warsaw. It is the threadbare but apparently still effective alibi of the tyrant who pretends to be bolting the doors because the Devil is hanging about outside, when he himself is the only devil and is shutting himself up to rule the better inside. Thus the Moscow dictators, having no reason to be afraid, are not afraid. If they are overarmed it is first of all because militarism is the necessary prop and climate of every dictatorship—see Budapest—and secondly because they do have aggressive designs.

It is really high time that "neutralists" came back down into the melee, where their own fate is being decided just as much as that of their committed fellow-citizens.

Have they already forgotten the tide of annexations, aggressions and coups that communism loosed, after the last war, over Manchuria, Korea, China, the Baltic States, Iran, Czechoslovakia, and Berlin?

Can anything comparable be honestly laid to the charge of the West? The crimes of Moscow and the mistakes of Washington are no longer in the least commensurable, just as the mistakes of London and Paris were not in the least commensurable with the crimes of Hitler, and

¹³ Literally: above the battle; colloquially: "Ivory tower."

to hand out equal blame to them is no longer either noble nor courageous, because it is no longer true. What is noble and courageous, what honors a thinker, is not always to say his own side is just as guilty as the other side; it is to say so when it is true and to say the opposite when the opposite is true.

FALLACY NO. 3: THE WEST SHUTS ITSELF UP IN A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE

This propaganda theme speculates on the congenital inclination of democrats to criticize their governments. It serves the Soviets because it cultivates an inferiority complex in democracies toward totalitarians, which it pictures in the guise of petulant youths whom the old fogies of the West are only capable of treating by rebuff.

Yet if the concrete proposals of the "two blocs" in the last decade were checked it would be seen that constructive proposals to promote understanding have never ceased to come from the Western side, whereas from the Soviet side have issued only hollow or venomous words and 87 Soviet vetos compared with no American ones at the U.N. Who is negative?

Even after the crime of Budapest, democracy was inexhaustibly patient and easy with the Soviet rulers, and replied in the negative only to the victims, not to the slaughterers. Every day the Soviet press is full of gross slander about the United States, every day the United States answers with Olympian observations, if not with favors by throwing open their television to the slanderers. On the count of free circulation of books from one side to the other, who is negative and who positive? That is, which of the two opens its newsstands and bookshops to the publications of the other, and who closes them? Who allows the radio broadcasts of the other to be heard and who jams them? And so on in every field.

The Kremlin's only positive attitude is aggression. If for the West the mere fact of resisting is negative, it means that a positive attitude would consist in letting one's throat be cut.

FALLACY NO. 4: THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM OF THE MODERN WORLD IS ATOMIC ENERGY

This propaganda theme exploits pacifist feeling, highly respectable in itself, and also the dramatic character of the new nuclear factor, which promotes the hasty reaction of regarding it as the alpha and omega of our time. Actually it is nothing of the kind. The most serious problem of the modern world is dictatorship in Moscow. If that did not exist, if the presently Communist world were run by democratic governments like those functioning in London, Bonn, Paris, and Washington, knowledge about atomic energy could progress as quickly and as far as desired without anyone in the world being in the least worried. Conversely, even if nuclear energy had not been discovered and if we had stuck to the superbombs and gases of Hitler's day the threats of Khrushchev would be enough to fill the world with anxiety.

In fact it is doing the Kremlin the greatest service to vent, in a philosophical complaint on the demiurgic power science confers on man, what should be political awareness of the plans for oppression that communism harbors against mankind.

FALLACY NO. 5: A MILLIARD COMMUNISTS CANNOT BE IGNORED

This propaganda theme titillates so-called realistic tendencies. It promotes dreaming of friendlier relations and exchanges apt to win the heart of the milliard and prove to them that at bottom we are all brothers.

Now this is one of the most cunning themes because it masks the crucial fact that friendly relations are rewarding only between people in possession of their free will, whereas under totalitarianism people are walled in and muzzled, and unfortunately no diplomatic or touristic approach can reach them.

Moreover this propaganda theme is treacherous because it leads people to believe that there are a milliard Communists in the world, which substantiates the Kremlin's show of power, when nothing is more false.

There are not a milliard Communists but a milliard human beings who live under a Communist dictatorship against their will. For if it were not against their will, dictatorship would be unnecessary. What cannot be ignored is therefore that a milliard of our contemporaries suffer under communism. They cry out their hatred for this regime with their blood in Vorkuta, Tiflis, East Berlin, Poznan, Budapest; they cry it out with their voices when they are prisoners of war as in Korea, choosing by 90 percent not to go home. They cry it out with their feet, fleeing by millions through all the cracks in the Iron Curtain: Berlin, Trieste, the Burmese jungle, Macao, Hong Kong, the 30th parallel in Vietnam, the 18th parallel in Korea; they cry it out with their silence, pointing to their censored press, their sham elections; they cry it out from all the concentration camps of Siberia and China.

In fact those famous "systematic anti-Communists," whom so many Western beaux esprits find more expedient to condemn than the Soviet dictators, are first and foremost the milliard subjects of Communist countries. It is thanks to their indomitable hatred of dictatorship, to the silent but fierce "Nyet" that the Kremlin rulers have never ceased to read on their muzzled lips, that the aggressiveness of these rulers have been held in check and the West can still enjoy freedom. If this milliard people must be invoked, it is therefore not as a reference to justify our abdication before their tyrants, but as our most valuable allies in our common defense against these tyrants. For, all things considered, while it is surely necessary to strengthen NATO, while it is necessary to conclude pacts, while it is necessary to make counter-propaganda, no text, no preaching will bring us final security so long as totalitarians control an empire of a milliard serfs. There is only one hope of peace for the men of our time: it is the fall of the Moscow dictatorship. For as long as it stands, no man anywhere on earth will be able to face the future with confidence. And the best chance of avoiding a world war is that the milliard of its oppressed subjects will overturn this dictatorship from within.

FALLACY NO. 6: THE SUCCESS OF COMMUNISM RESULTS FROM SOCIAL INJUSTICE

This propaganda theme speculates on the Marxist propensity to look for the origin of any political disease in an economic disorder, as on the generous tendency to cure the causes of an ill rather than repress its makers.

That also explains the services this idea renders to communism: it leads democratic governments to mortal forbearance toward the Communist apparatus, which, in addition, it haloes by presenting it as a reaction to poverty when it is only an appendage of dictatorship.

The falsity of this notion becomes quite clear as soon as one perceives that the surest strongholds of communism have in the past often been and are increasingly today the social strata best provided for (the labor aristocracy in France, in Weimar Germany, and in the Czechoslovakia of Benes; intellectuals in Asia, businessmen in Japan), whereas numerous poor segments of the people oppose or have opposed it (Spain, China before Mao, South America).

This idea that in Asia and Africa the masses are in no need of freedom and ask above all for bread—it being implied that this is the reason why they turn toward Moscow—is doubly wrong, first because political freedom is the most effective means of raising standards of life, second because the very worst way for a poverty-stricken people to get bread is to accept Communist dictatorship, a systematic producer of underconsumption. The real vehicle of communism in Asia is not the hunger of the people but the ambition of the intellectuals.

No doubt for democrats the most sacred duty is to raise the standard of living of the masses in order to alleviate human misery, but it would be pure illusion to believe that this is enough to ward off the Communist peril. The more so as no reform can silence Communist demagoguery, which knows no limit in bad faith and overbidding. Moreover, it is clearly inconceivable that all social injustice can be eliminated within the next decades, however hard we try. Yet the Communist threat is already harassing our flank with its spear. The parry suggested is totally out of phase with the threat.

The struggle against social injustice must certainly be carried on unflinching, but to regard it as the very weapon for fighting communism, to confine oneself to coming to the aid of the suburbs while letting the ministries be infiltrated, is an evasion behind a noble front that greatly furthers the Communist assault.

FALLACY NO. 7: THE REMEDY FOR THE SOVIET THREAT IS AID TO UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

This is the counterpart on the international level of the above propaganda theme on the domestic level. The feelings and the circles affected are the same. The service done to the Soviets is also of the same type: shifting a direct retort their attack makes immediately necessary to a very long-term indirect rehabilitation job. Here again it must be emphasized that the objective in itself is unassailable. It is of course necessary to do away with the poverty of underdeveloped peoples for reasons of human solidarity. What is false is that this necessary generosity is enough to ward off the infection of communism.

Let us not forget that this infection has also attacked economically highly developed countries like Czechoslovakia and France, for it is based on passions and myths just as much as on needs.

In fact America, which professes to be humanist and Christian, acts in a Marxist way, while the U.S.S.R., which claims to believe in "Marxist materialism", resorts only to "idealistic" methods of proselytism; America thinks that it has only to build schools, hospitals, railways in underdeveloped countries, hand out Spam and fruit juice, for their peoples to stand up automatically against Soviet imperialism. Meanwhile the U.S.S.R. works exclusively on minds. In its approach, a rise in the standard of living of peoples will be the result of their faith in communism and their hatred of the West. And the U.S.S.R. embodies this idea in an inexhaustible stream of books, pamphlets, leaflets, written in every language and adapted to every level of intelligence.

Thus a division of work has set in between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, which will rapidly bring the former to crush the latter. The United States supplies foodstuffs, the Soviets propaganda. The United States builds schools to teach the alphabet to underdeveloped peoples; the U.S.S.R. prints anti-American newspapers these peoples will be able to read, thanks to American aid. The United States builds libraries, the Soviets fill them with Leninist literature. The United States spreads hospitals; the Soviets staff them with Communist nurses who will indoctrinate the patients.

The above should not be interpreted as meaning that economic aid programs must be discontinued. This aid can have excellent effects, but only if it is supplemented by political education programs. Dollars without cadres, native cadres aware of the Communist peril, invariably end up in the pockets of Soviet auxiliaries.

The truth is that to resist Soviet propaganda the most urgent thing is aid not to underdeveloped countries, but to underdeveloped minds, in the West as in the East. Such aid is the purpose of the constructive measures now to be proposed.

VI. CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS

OUR SURVIVAL DEPENDS ON COUNTERPROPAGANDA

Before reviewing the means that should be brought into play by the free world to counter this formidable propaganda and conspiracy machine maintained by the Soviets, it is important for us to convince ourselves that the task is urgent.

The very survival of the West is at stake. We only resist in fact on the military front. But, owing to the balance of horror reached between atomic armaments, it is not in this sphere that the contest will be decided; it will be decided in the sphere of propaganda, where the West is inactive.

It is not sufficiently realized in the West that the seeds of propaganda have yielded the Soviets an extraordinary harvest of territorial and strategic advantages that could only be obtained up to now by arms. In fact almost all their conquests have been achieved not at the point of the bayonet but through political warfare, that is, as an effect of poisoning of democratic minds—apart from their victory over Nazi Germany, which rather falls under the head of reconquest of their own

territory. The lightning Soviet expansion following that victory resulted from the liberalities of the Allied leaders at Yalta, and these liberalities would have been inconceivable if the same leaders had seen in the Soviet regime as black a despotism as Hitler's. The very fact that they were able to connect this regime with the values the democracies had fought for, that they associated concepts of historical progress or popular finality with it, amply paid back the Kremlin, in a single day under the Crimean sun, for the milliards of rubles invested for decades in spreading such illusions. China succumbed because of ideological contamination much rather than military supremacy. Czechoslovakia only collapsed as a result of ideological contamination of its cadres. All the Middle-Eastern countries that have tipped into the neutralist camp—which is actually partial to Moscow—have been lured into it solely by the charms of propaganda coupled with political undermining. The decisive role of Communist propaganda in the rejection of the European Army has already been mentioned. ?

At present the idea, eminently favorable to the Soviets, of neutralizing Germany is gaining ground in one western circle after another, owing exclusively to the action of the huge Soviet machine for spreading fallacies: the Kremlin has good chances of having American soldiers go home, handing over the area it is after, without having fired a shot—through sheer persuasion. *

It should be emphasized that no criticism is implied here of the military effort of NATO. Indeed this effort can only be fully approved of. It is clear that if we let the Soviets surpass us in military strength it will mean immediate disaster. For they will not be so scrupulous as was America when it had a monopoly of the atomic bomb but never used it against the Soviets to back up its political aims. Once convinced of possessing decisive superiority in armament, the Kremlin would subjugate the free world whether we liked it or not.

We must therefore congratulate ourselves on having a SHAPE and weapons. We must even urge it to increase its effort so as not to be overtaken. But it must also be said, as on the question of economic aid, that this necessary and praiseworthy military effort is not enough by itself. Just as NATO, by equipping, insures that a war of missiles will not take place, so it has to equip for the war that consequently becomes crucial: the war of minds. If not, it will repeat the tragic mistake of the Maginot line. It will be armored on one front and the enemy will pass on another. In 1939 the Nazi enemy passed beside, across a territory not defended by France because it had been baptized "neutral." This time the Communist enemy will pass underneath, through a political territory which, owing to a similar fetishism, is not consolidated either, because it supposedly falls exclusively within the sphere of the domestic affairs of each country. That is exactly why the enemy takes root there quickly. The strength of each single country is not sufficient to resist Soviet propaganda. Here is a vital task for NATO to assume.

Besides, the efficiency of our defense depends on effects of propaganda, even purely from the point of view of military technique. An atomic war is likely to be won or lost in the first quarter hour. The moment the Kremlin is convinced that western leaders, bound by a restive and weak-willed public opinion, will hesitate a quarter of an hour before starting reprisals it will rush to the attack. And then hesitancy will either continue and there will be enslavement, or it will

dissipate and there will be butchery. In any case disaster will have been brought on by the fact that enemy propaganda was able to cause wavering in our behavior.

THE CHANCES FOR OUR RECOVERY

To undertake this necessary recovery it is important for the West to believe it possible. To do so we must rid ourselves of two motives for despair.

The first is letting ourselves be intimidated by the Soviet propaganda and infiltration machine. In this paper we have emphasized its hugeness, but it should not be concluded that in this matter the Soviets are demiurges who cannot be equaled. They are only the first to have chosen consciously to use propaganda as a machine in itself. As soon as this method is clearly understood, as soon as the will to put it to use is acquired, no special genius is required. Any group of men with adequate material means can do it.

And even at a much lower cost than the Soviets, because it is surely much more costly to sell lies for someone who wants to subjugate minds by trickery than it is to sell truth for someone who means to leave them free and simply provide them with antidotes.

The second trap to avoid is the notion carefully cultivated by auxiliaries that "propaganda is of no use." This is an unsubstantiated and nefarious statement. Why should the Soviets shoulder the colossal effort we have discussed if it only results in turning out worthless merchandise? And who can say where we would be today if even the tiny counterpropaganda effort made by the West had not been forthcoming, that is if no one had ever exposed Communist tyranny and impostures?

The truth is that up to now counterpropaganda has not had the desirable effectiveness, not because it has been excessive, but because it has been absurdly insufficient compared to the Communist propaganda confronting it. And a fortress is not proved impregnable because it cannot be scaled with a stool.

AN INSTITUTE FOR IDEOLOGICAL RESISTANCE TO COMMUNIST TOTALITARIANISM

While it is true that NATO cannot assume direct responsibility for all the necessary counterpropaganda, it seems on the other hand that it might supply member governments with weapons for political resistance. For this purpose it would be highly useful to create an institute for ideological resistance to all forms of Soviet propaganda.

This institute, working on a scientific level and consequently raising a minimum of objections, would have the following missions, which can be no more than summarized here, and the details of which would require a special study:

(a) Collecting and studying all facts concerning the overt and underground propaganda carried on by the Soviets against the democracies, elucidating its ways, means, and stratagems, revealing the different masks it puts on according to circumstances, recording and computing its development, evaluating its effects.

(b) Diligently informing Allied Governments on these points.

(c) Enlightening public opinion by means of documented synopses released to press and radio organs. The institute could also publish

books and pamphlets and arrange lectures on the specialist or the general public level. It should, finally, correct in releases the fallacies about communism that blind, mislead, and paralyze the dynamic forces of the free world.

(d) Preparing and suggesting counterpropaganda themes and means of counterinfiltration.

(e) Organizing regular series of courses on Communist methods to which member countries would send high officials concerned with them, and to which journalists and politicians would also be invited.

(f) Studying a possible extension to all free countries of provisions such as articles 4 and 18 of the French and German Constitutions, which reflect the idea that the Communist machine seriously impairs the functioning of democracy. The possibility of an International Civic Code calling upon all political groups in NATO countries to respect democratic standards, this as a means of breaking the totalitarian machine of Communist parties.

(g) Inviting citizens of African and Asian countries who will exercise professions involving leadership of their people—teachers, radio speakers, doctors, entrepreneurs—to train them by apprenticeship periods of 1 or 2 years so that they may return home bearing ideas of freedom and warned against Communist impostures.

(h) Setting up one or several schools to train a legion of missionaries of freedom who will spread out through the world. This is an essential task.

In sum, this institute would constitute a crucible of ideas, a center of awareness, an arsenal of arguments, a school for friends in the common struggle on the front of freedom.

The organization of such a center on the NATO level is justified by the fact that Soviet propaganda is a single supranational force. It is in fact the only one to have actually had this character to date. It therefore calls for equally supranational resistance—and first of all a laboratory and a brain.

In order to enjoy greater flexibility the institute could have a certain autonomy with regard to NATO and also serve organizations like SEATO and the Baghdad Pact. It could have corresponding centers in all free countries.

It may be objected that the type of international action here proposed is unprecedented. No doubt, but can a new war in our century be prepared for with old stockpiles? Intercontinental ballistic missiles with nuclear charges were also unprecedented. If the enemy assails us with unprecedented propaganda weapons must we give up the thought of defending ourselves because it would involve resorting to unprecedented means?

Truly we must react without evasion or letting ourselves be stopped by any kind of formalism. We must react quickly and vigorously, bringing into play the highest moral authorities, the surest political skills, the widest material means.

It is H-hour minus 5 on the battlefield of the war of minds.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATIONS DESIGNATED UNDER EXECUTIVE ORDER No. 10450

[Compiled from memorandums of the Attorney General dated April 29, July 15, September 28, 1953, January 22, 1954, April 4, September 21, and October 20, 1955]

CONSOLIDATED LIST—NOVEMBER 1, 1955

This list is prepared solely for the information of Federal civilian officers and employees and for the convenience of persons completing applications for Federal employment. Membership in or affiliation with a designated organization is one factor to be considered by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government in connection with the employment or retention in employment of individuals in Federal service.

Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, Ill.
Action Committee To Free Spain Now.
Alabama People's Educational Association. (See Communist Political Association.)
American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, Inc.
American Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions.
American Christian Nationalist Party.
American Committee for European Workers' Relief. (See Socialist Workers Party.)
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
American Committee for Spanish Freedom.
American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan, Inc.
American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc.
American Committee To Survey Labor Conditions in Europe.
American Council for a Democratic Greece, formerly known as the Greek American Council; Greek American Committee for National Unity.
American Council on Soviet Relations.
American Croatian Congress.
American Jewish Labor Council.
American League Against War and Fascism.
American League for Peace and Democracy.
American National Labor Party.
American National Socialist League.
American National Socialist Party.
American Nationalist Party.
American Patriots, Inc.
American Peace Crusade.
American Peace Mobilization.
American Poles for Peace.
American Polish Labor Council.
American Polish League.
American Rescue Ship Mission (a project of the United American Spanish Aid Committee).
American-Russian Fraternal Society.
American Russian Institute, New York, also known as the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union.
American Russian Institute, Philadelphia.
American Russian Institute of San Francisco.
American Russian Institute of Southern California, Los Angeles.
American Slav Congress.
American Women for Peace.
American Youth Congress.
American Youth for Democracy.
Armenian Progressive League of America.

Associated Klans of America.
 Association of Georgia Klans.
 Association of German Nationals (Reichsdeutsche Vereinigung).
 Ausland-Organization der NSDAP, Overseas Branch of Nazi Party.
 Baltimore Forum.
 Benjamin Davis Freedom Committee.
 Black Dragon Society.
 Boston School for Marxist Studies, Boston, Massachusetts.
 Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee.
 Bulgarian American People's League of the United States of America.
 California Emergency Defense Committee.
 California Labor School, Inc., 321 Divisadero Street, San Francisco, Calif.
 Carpatho-Russian People's Society.
 Central Council of American Women of Croatian Descent, also known as Central Council of American Croatian Women, National Council of Croatian Women.
 Central Japanese Association (Beikoku Chuo Nipponjin Kai).
 Central Japanese Association of Southern California.
 Central Organization of the German-American National Alliance (Deutsche-Amerikanische Einheitsfront).
 Cervantes Fraternal Society.
 China Welfare Appeal, Inc.
 Chopin Cultural Center.
 Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges.
 Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side (New York City).
 Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder.
 Citizens Emergency Defense Conference.
 Citizens Protective League.
 Civil Liberties Sponsoring Committee of Pittsburgh.
 Civil Rights Congress and its affiliated organizations, including:
 Civil Rights Congress for Texas.
 Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York.
 Civil Rights Congress for Texas. (See Civil Rights Congress.)
 Columbians.
 Comite Coordinador Pro Republica Espanola.
 Comite Pro Derechos Civiles. (See Puerto Rican Comite Pro Libertades Civiles.)
 Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.
 Committee for Constitutional and Political Freedom.
 Committee for Nationalist Action.
 Committee for Peace and Brotherhood Festival in Philadelphia.
 Committee for the Defense of the Pittsburgh Six.
 Committee for the Negro in the Arts.
 Committee for the Protection of the Bill of Rights.
 Committee for World Youth Friendship and Cultural Exchange.
 Committee to Abolish Discrimination in Maryland. (See Congress Against Discrimination; Maryland Congress Against Discrimination; Provisional Committee to Abolish Discrimination in the State of Maryland.)
 Committee to Aid the Fighting South.
 Committee to Defend Marie Richardson.
 Committee to Defend the Rights and Freedom of Pittsburgh's Political Prisoners.
 Committee to Uphold the Bill of Rights.
 Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark.
 Communist Party, U.S.A., its subdivisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates.
 Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates, including:
 Alabama People's Educational Association.
 Florida Press and Educational League.
 Oklahoma League for Political Education.
 People's Educational and Press Association of Texas.
 Virginia League for People's Education.
 Congress Against Discrimination. (See Committee to Abolish Discrimination in Maryland.)
 Congress of American Revolutionary Writers.
 Congress of American Women.
 Congress of the Unemployed.
 Connecticut Committee to Aid Victims of the Smith Act.
 Connecticut State Youth Conference.
 Council for Jobs, Relief, and Housing.
 Council for Pan-American Democracy.

Council of Greek Americans.
 Council on African Affairs.
 Croatian Benevolent Fraternity.
 Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (Military Virtue Society of Japan or Military Art Society of Japan).
 Daily Worker Press Club.
 Daniels Defense Committee.
 Dante Alighieri Society (between 1935 and 1940).
 Dennis Defense Committee.
 Detroit Youth Assembly.
 East Bay Peace Committee.
 Elsinore Progressive League.
 Emergency Conference to Save Spanish Refugees (founding body of the North American Spanish Aid Committee).
 Everybody's Committee to Outlaw War.
 Families of the Baltimore Smith Act Victims.
 Families of the Smith Act Victims.
 Federation of Italian War Veterans in the U.S.A., Inc. (Associazione Nazionale Combattenti Italiani, Federazione degli Stati Uniti d'America).
 Finnish-American Mutual Aid Society.
 Florida Press and Educational League (see Communist Political Association).
 Frederick Douglass Educational Center.
 Freedom Stage, Inc.
 Friends of the New Germany (Freunde des Neuen Deutschlands).
 Friends of the Soviet Union.
 Garibaldi American Fraternal Society.
 George Washington Carver School, New York City.
 German-American Bund (Amerikadeutscher Volksbund).
 German-American Republican League.
 German-American Vocational League (Deutsche-Amerikanische Berufsgemeinschaft).
 Guardian Club.
 Harlem Trade Union Council.
 Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee.
 Heimusha Kai, also known as Nokubei Heieki Gimusha Kai, Zaibel Nihonjin, Heiyaku Gimusha Kai, and Zaibei Heimusha Kai (Japanese Residing in America Military Conscripts Association).
 Hellenic-American Brotherhood.
 Hinode Kai (Imperial Japanese Reservists).
 Hinomaru Kai (Rising Sun Flag Society—a group of Japanese War Veterans).
 Hokubei Zaigo Shoke Dan (North American Reserve Officers Association).
 Hollywood Writers Mobilization for Defense.
 Hungarian-American Council for Democracy.
 Hungarian Brotherhood.
 Idaho Pension Union.
 Independent Party (Seattle, Wash.). (See Independent People's Party.)
 Independent People's Party. (See Independent Party.)
 Industrial Workers of the World.
 International Labor Defense.
 International Workers Order, its subdivisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates.
 Japanese Association of America.
 Japanese Overseas Central Society (Kaigai Dobo Chuo Kai).
 Japanese Overseas Convention, Tokyo, Japan, 1940.
 Japanese Protective Association (recruiting organization).
 Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City.
 Jewish Culture Society.
 Jewish People's Committee.
 Jewish People's Fraternal Order.
 Jikyoku Iinkai (the Committee for the Crisis).
 Johnson-Forest Group. (See Johnsonites.)
 Johnsonites. (See Johnson-Forest Group.)
 Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.
 Joint Council of Progressive Italian-Americans, Inc.
 Joseph Weydemeyer School of Social Science, St. Louis, Mo.
 Kibei Seinen Kai (association of United States Citizens of Japanese ancestry who have returned to America after studying in Japan).
 Knights of the White Camellia.
 Ku Klux Klan.

Kyffhaeuser, also known as Kyffhaeuser League (Kyffhaeuser Bund), Kyffhaeuser Fellowship (Kyffhaeuser Kameradschaft).
 Kyffhaeuser War Relief (Kyffhaeuser Kriegshilfswerk.)
 Labor Council for Negro Rights.
 Labor Research Association, Inc.
 Labor Youth League.
 League for Common Sense.
 League of American Writers.
 Lictor Society (Italian Black Shirts).
 Macedonian-American People's League.
 Mario Morgantini Circle.
 Maritime Labor Committee To Defend Al Lannon.
 Maryland Congress Against Discrimination. (See Committee To Abolish Discrimination in Maryland.)
 Massachusetts Committee for the Bill of Rights.
 Massachusetts Minute Women for Peace (not connected with the Minute Women of the U.S.A., Inc.).
 Maurice Braverman Defense Committee.
 Michigan Civil Rights Federation.
 Michigan Council for Peace.
 Michigan School of Social Science.
 Nanka Teikoku Gunyudan (Imperial Military Friends Group or Southern California War Veterans).
 National Association of Mexican Americans (also known as Asociacion Nacional Mexico-Americana).
 National Blue Star Mothers of America (not to be confused with the Blue Star Mothers of America organized in February 1942).
 National Committee for Freedom of the Press.
 National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.
 National Committee To Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims.
 National Committee To Win the Peace.
 National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (a conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy).
 National Council of Americans of Croatian Descent.
 National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.
 National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
 National Labor Conference for Peace.
 National Negro Congress.
 National Negro Labor Council.
 Nationalist Action League.
 Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico.
 Nature Friends of America (since 1935).
 Negro Labor Victory Committee.
 New Committee for Publications.
 Nichibei Kogyo Kaisha (the Great Fujii Theater).
 North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy.
 North American Spanish Aid Committee.
 North Philadelphia Forum.
 Northwest Japanese Association.
 Ohio School of Social Sciences.
 Oklahoma Committee To Defend Political Prisoners.
 Oklahoma League for Political Education. (See Communist Political Association.)
 Original Southern Klans, Inc.
 Pacific Northwest Labor School, Seattle, Wash.
 Palo Alto Peace Club.
 Partido del Pueblo of Panama (operating in the Canal Zone).
 Peace Information Center.
 Peace Movement of Ethiopia.
 People's Drama, Inc.
 People's Educational and Press Association of Texas. (See Communist Political Association.)
 People's Educational Association (incorporated under name, "Los Angeles Educational Association, Inc."), also known as People's Educational Center, People's University, People's School.
 People's Institute of Applied Religion.
 Peoples Programs (Seattle, Wash.).
 People's Radio Foundation, Inc.
 People's Rights Party.

Philadelphia Labor Committee for Negro Rights.
 Philadelphia School of Social Science and Arts.
 Photo League (New York City).
 Pittsburgh Arts Club.
 Political Prisoners' Welfare Committee.
 Polonia Society of the IWO.
 Progressive German-Americans, also known as Progressive German-Americans of Chicago.
 Proletarian Party of America.
 Protestant War Veterans of the United States, Inc.
 Provisional Committee of Citizens for Peace, Southwest Area.
 Provisional Committee on Latin American Affairs.
 Provisional Committee To Abolish Discrimination in the State of Maryland. (See Committee To Abolish Discrimination in Maryland.)
 Puerto Rican Comite Pro Libertades Civiles (CLC). (See Comite Pro Derechos Civiles.)
 Puertorriquenos Unidós (Puerto Ricans United).
 Quad City Committee for Peace.
 Queensbridge Tenants League.
 Revolutionary Workers League.
 Romanian-American Fraternal Society.
 Russian American Society, Inc.
 Sakura Kai (patriotic society, or Cherry Association, composed of veterans of Russo-Japanese War).
 Samuel Adams School, Boston, Mass.
 Santa Barbara Peace Forum.
 Schappes Defense Committee.
 Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee.
 School of Jewish Studies, New York City.
 Seattle Labor School, Seattle, Wash.
 Serbian-American Fraternal Society.
 Serbian Vidovdan Council.
 Shinto Temples (limited to State shinto abolished in 1945).
 Silver Shirt Legion of America.
 Slavic Council of Southern California.
 Slovak Workers Society.
 Slovenian-American National Council.
 Socialist Workers Party, including American Committee for European Workers' Relief.
 Sokoku Kai (Fatherland Society).
 Southern Negro Youth Congress.
 Suiko Sha (Reserve Officers' Association, Los Angeles).
 Syracuse Women for Peace.
 Tom Paine School of Social Science, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Tom Paine School of Westchester, N.Y.
 Trade Union Committee for Peace. (See Trade Unionists for Peace.)
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 Tri-State Negro Trade Union Council.
 Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union.
 Union of American Croatsians.
 Union of New York Veterans.
 United American Spanish Aid Committee.
 United Committee of Jewish Societies and Landsmanschaft Federations, also known as Coordination Committee of Jewish Landsmanschaften and Fraternal Organizations.
 United Committee of South Slavic Americans.
 United Defense Council of Southern California.
 United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization.
 United May Day Committee.
 United Negro and Allied Veterans of America.
 Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York. (See Civil Rights Congress.)
 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
 Virginia League for People's Education. (See Communist Political Association.)
 Voice of Freedom Committee.
 Walt Whitman School of Social Science, Newark, N.J.

Washington Bookshop Association.
Washington Committee for Democratic Action.
Washington Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights.
Washington Commonwealth Federation.
Washington Pension Union.
Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation.
Workers Alliance (since April 1936).
Yiddisher Kultur Farband.
Young Communist League.
Yugoslav-American Cooperative Home, Inc.
Yugoslav Seamen's Club, Inc.



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